IN THE NAME OF GOD THE FORGIVER

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539 The following Awaqil (sing. aqila, the leader of a bait) representing the various "buite" (sing. bait, the tribal segment below the level of eila) of the Aggary Family were witnesses to the treaty and their signatures signify their commitment and that of their respective buite to the content of this agreement.

(a list of the various awaqil)

The above signing awaqil agreed unanimously on the content of the document and all the conditions included. No objection by any of the above persons was noted at the meeting.

Article 1:

The content of this document should be kept as a secret of the Aggary Family. It constitutes the Aggary Amar in accordance with the customs and the Daraieb of Awlad Ali. The content of the document should be revealed only at the request of both parties of a dispute which involves a member of the Amar.

Article 2:

[629] Peace should exist between members of the Amar. No secret grudges or open disputes should be permitted between them. In case such an unfortunate situation exists, the other non-involved members of the Amar should intervene between the disputants, try to solve the dispute, and prevent it from damaging the solidarity of the Amar. They should investigate the facts of the case and force the guilty party to compensate his brother (the wronged party) without giving the former a chance to object.

Article 3:

[681] When the Amar is called upon because of obligation involving the payment of money, all the Awaqil should meet and decide the amount of money that should be collected from each Bait of the Aggary Family. It becomes then the responsibility of each Aqila to collect the amount from his Bait.

Article 4:

[681] [885] The share of each Bait is based upon the number of "Sayems", (literally, "fasting males", which is interpreted to mean 15 years of age or over), regardless of whether or not they have a source of income for themselves. The share of those without means of their own is distributed among the other members of the Bait.

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Each Aqila is responsible for submitting to the Amar a list of the Sayems in his bait, and this will be the basis for establishing the share of the bait in payment or receipt of the money.

Article 5:

No Aqila can act on any matter involving loss or gain to the Amar without the presence of the other Awaqil of the Amar, unless an urgent matter occurs in which waiting for the rest of the Awaqil might jeopardize the interest of the Amar. In such cases the Awaqil present can act on behalf of the Amar as a whole.

Article 6:

[672] The following acts should not involve the Amar as a whole and the
[673] offender is considered individually (or with his own Bait) responsible for them:

1. Theft and cheating.
2. Insult or disrespect of a younger member of the Amar to an older person whether from the Amar or not.
3. Entering someone's tent or home without permission.
4. Seduction of women (including rape and adultery).

[681] In all the above cases the individual has to bear the responsibility for his own actions. For to let the Amar pay for him in such circumstances is to encourage him and other such members of the Amar to commit more of such acts and bring disgrace to the Amar. If the offender is unable to pay for his crime, his nearest male kin should pay for him in accordance with the Awlad Ali Daraieb. Such payments are considered as personal debts which the offender has to pay back as soon as he is financially able.

Article 7:

[627] When an older person does injustice to a younger one, the latter should take his complaint to the Aqila of his own bait. The Aqila in turn should take the matter up with the Aqila of the older man or to all the awaqil of the Amar if the matter is serious enough. The awaqil must assess the facts and prevent the older man from doing any more injustice to the younger man and have the former compensate him for any damage he might have caused the younger man by his actions. If the awaqil fail to do this and if their failure resulted in the younger insulting or hurting the older, his acts become no longer an individual responsibility for which he has to pay alone, and the Amar should pay for him.

Article 8:

[627] No members of the Amar should take sides in disputes involving families or individuals outside the Amar unless the awaqil in the Amar investigate the matter and the reasons for the dispute and decide that the Amar as a whole should be on one side of the dispute or the other.

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EILAT AGGARY AND ITS CONSTIUENT BAITS

BAIT	NUMBER OF ADULT MALES (Sayems)[1]	AQILA
Eweidha (El-Burg)*	28	Ta'eb
Eweidha (El-Alamein)*	31	Selouma
Yusef**	30	Suliman
Helleis	22	Hussein
El-Asabei'	56	Shei'eb
Abdel Hamid*	20	Haj Musa
Risq**	30	Yadem
Afash	25	Nayer
Daghas**	25	Daghash
Bul-Yazid*	21	Haj Shousha
Makhyum**	23	Abdel fattah
Hussein**	17	Masri
El-Ramly**	25	Salem
Rashwan**	30	Rashwan
Attya*	31	Masu'd
Abdella*	22	Abdel Galil

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1 Numbers are taken from the Amar list which is used to distribute the amount of bloodmoney on the various baits. An adult male or "sayem" is anyone 15 years of age or older. The word "sayem" means fasting individual and the age of 15 is when a child is forced to observe the duties of fasting.

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** Refers to adopted tribal segments (Muktatibeen).
* Baits of doubted origin. Some claim these baits are adopted, while others insist that they are Awlad Ali proper.

between man and man, although the various cereal dishes which constitute their regular meals are said to have a similar effect.

The son who continues to eat with his father "as he always had been doing," also continues to accept his authority. Indeed he could do little else at this stage, for he lacks the economic means to cut away. Neither at marriage nor after is there any transfer of wealth from father to son. The new tent recently pitched is no more than a dormitory to which the young couple retire at night. During the daytime the son is still to be seen in his father's tent, and, in the male quarters, things appear to be much the same as before. In the female quarters, the only superficial change is the more frequent appearance among the women of one who, before marriage, often sat among them if she had been a close neighbour or a close cousin previously; or of an additional helper if she had come from afar. On the surface things remain "as they always have been," although in fact, a whole set of changes have been initiated.

Rites de passage are few among the Bedouin. A man's progress in life is ceremonially marked by only four events: his birth, circumcision, marriage and burial. His development into manhood is not marked by clearly defined stages. About the age of seven, the henna markings on the front of a boy's shirt for protection from the evil eye are not renewed, the cowrie shell stitched to the front of his cap as a kind of talisman against the evil eye is removed and he is no longer permitted free access to the women's quarters. As he grows older, he will be instructed in goat-herding, and later taught to follow the sheep. In his late teens he will have to undertake the more arduous and responsible task of herding the camels. Coincident with camel-herding, he may be given a gun by his father. Shortly afterwards he must undertake the stringent test of manhood, a journey to a distant oasis for dates. These changes are not marked off by a *rite de passage*. The rites a man undergoes during the course of a lifetime are minimal, and in the sense that they are concerned with only the basic events in a man's life anywhere (save for circumcision, which is a minor celebration anyway), they are irreducible. Moreover, the rituals which exist do not comprehend the same multiplicity of relationships as rituals which occur in many other African societies.[4] It is true that the ceremonies referred to in this chapter by no means include all the Bedouin rituals. It is also true that the events mentioned vary in elaboration, and in the number of symbols present in them, but they are not multiplied or reduced for different people.

In this context it is important to stress that we are here dealing with a lineage society where social differentiation is not built up into differences of rank, where the roles to which a man succeeds are almost wholly captured by his kinship relationships with other men and which are sociologically to be distinguished from the roles a man enters into by acquisition of office,

[4] See, for example, the elaboration of rituals discussed in M. Gluckman (Ed.), *Essays on the Ritual of Social Relations*. Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1962.

Cases

The Meaning of Marriage

581 Until marriage the changes in a man's life have been in the nature of
585 an ordered sequence of development from a child to be cared for — the only
342 time in his life when a father, without inhibition, showers on him his love
[593] and affection — to one who, by degrees, makes an increasing contribution to a production unit. Marriage necessitates that a man pitch a tent for himself. With a tent he becomes a potential host and protector of others. The local idiom for marriage is "to set up a tent." It would be quite improper to use
[196] the verb "to marry" when inquiring whether a marriage has taken place
[195] since this verb also has the meaning of "to have sexual intercourse." Instead the euphemism, "Have you pitched a tent?" is used. The Arabic word for a tent in this context is *Bait*. It is not used to refer to a military tent, nor to the small tent which shelters only a widow. It is reserved for the Bedouin tent, which usually has a wool top, and, most importantly, holds the promise of the continuation of life, whether it shelters a newly married couple, a mature family or young unmarried people. (The word *Bait* represents a complex concept, and it would be too much of a diversion here to discuss the various points of its significance. It is essential to understand that its
[708] meaning is not confined to a tent in the physical sense.) Its top has *Baraka* (divine goodness) in it; the quality of *Haram*, which makes it possible for the tent to be used as a sanctuary, is associated with it and this quality of *Haram* extends, moreover, to the ropes of the tent, so that anyone who clutches them comes under the protection of the owner. In it, the wife must permanently reside and her husband has the legal right to insist on this. In it too, he has the legal right of sexual access to a woman, his wife. Any children
[885] born in it he can claim as his own. With the erection of a tent the son reaches adulthood, and it is in this sense that he can be said to have acquired a domain of his own.

581 Marriage gives a son greater freedom and less dependence on his father
585 in another sense. A second euphemism used for marriage is "making a
[593] relationship," specifically an affinal one. Relationships between a man and
095 his father-in-law are diverse and are used in various ways in different situations. Here, the particular aspect which needs to be stressed is that a man
606 can cajole his father-in-law, and (through his wife) wealth, in the form
425 of animals, may pass from the former to the latter. Reciprocal gifts are passed
556 between affines on certain occasions, but in addition small amounts may pass which are not connected with the formal occasions of exchanges. Debt
583 lies between them. It begins with the initiation of marriage negotiations,
584 when the suitor's kinsmen take a prescribed number of sheep to present to
606 the girl's father if negotiations are successful. They promise to transfer bride-wealth[9] to the girl's father. A few weeks after the marriage, the hus-

[191] [9] I use the word "bride-wealth" because it has become so familiar in the literature, but the only similarity between the *Sahiba* of the Bedouin and the bride-wealth of